1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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as husband and wife. They have been copulating before, frequently with the knowledge of the father and mother, but the latter pretend ignorance.

Usually an older man with a wife or two acquires a young woman in her adolescent period. A young girl often starts living in her husband's household before menstruation. The dué usually takes her for fear of having her stolen from her parents by some other dué. He has no intercourse with her during this period. When the girl is old enough he may without ceremony start actual intercourse. Or he may take her out into the bush on the ruse that they are going fishing. He asks her to get some drinking water or some wood. While she is gone he ties a small piece of opossum fur string around his index finger, and when she comes back he asks her to lie down. He places the finger inside her vagina; then they return to camp, and sexual intercourse starts. This minor ceremony is not frequently practiced.

When an older man takes a pre-adolescent girl he helps the mother perform the ceremony at her first menstruation. After this is over the husband paints her with red ochre (this is always done for mourners after the death of a relative to avoid ceremonial uncleanliness, and is used in ceremonies).

Ordinarily there is but little taboo on a menstruating woman. She sleeps in the same house or camp with her husband, though the couple do not copulate. The only restriction in daily life is that no man would allow a wife or any other woman to go out in a canoe with him during this period, for otherwise the great mythical snake, Bapa Indi (the Great Father), would swallow them all. The story is told that not so long ago a man took his two wives in a canoe for a trip from one island to another. One of them was menstruating. When they had gone for a short time Yurlunggur (Bapa Indi) smelt the unclean odor, came out of the subterranean depths, and swallowed them all. This modern folk tale, which is believed by all Murngin, fits into the tribe's most fundamental myth of the two old creator sisters.

The above describes how a man ordinarily obtains a wife and what usually happens; but often a woman is not taken from her parents for some time because her future husband may be away in the country of a more distant clan. Various men may also dispute the right to her, owing to a gawel's exceeding his rights by promising her to several men, or because of a wrong marriage of the mokul or gawel, with the true gurrong of mokul demanding the daughter and the true waku of gawel claiming her. If the marriage had been according to

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595 the son. A dué likes many wives because he tires of cohabiting with
554 one and because such multiplicity creates more sons and daughters, so that he will have more waku, dué, and galle, with stronger bonds between him and them.

513 When in camp a woman sleeps with her back to her husband. If
833 intercourse takes place it is in this position so that no one can be aware of what they are doing.

A dué and galle never copulate during a woman's pregnancy, lest
843 the child be born dead or die early in infancy, the mother's milk being
834 soured by her husband's semen. If a child is born dead the parents are blamed. If a baby dies, the brother and father of the mother criticize
620 their actions throughout the camp in loud voices for her and other members of the tribe to hear. Since sexual intercourse has usually occurred between dué and galle after what they feel should have been the regulated time, they say nothing and do not resent the criticism.

After a child is born the woman and man wait several days before
846 resuming sexual relations. The wife goes through a short ceremony that is both therapeutic and ritualistic. She enters the bush with a female relative such as momo, mari, or mokul bapa, and places some stones on a fire. When these are hot she squats over the fire and the other woman throws water over the stones. The steam is supposed to heal, cleanse and close her uterus and make it small again.

846 A woman during this period sleeps facing her husband, who does
833 not try to touch her but waits until she turns from him and starts making casual conversation. He realizes then that she wants him. After his first intercourse with his wife following the birth of a child, the husband always rises early and bathes himself. If he did not, he would look like an animal to the other men and feel ashamed before them.[11]

593 A woman gathers the small game, nuts, bulbs, yams, and other
222 vegetable food, as well as all shell food for the family. A man always
462 has first right to the food brought by her. She and her daughters have eaten all they wish while gathering it. A wife usually cooks the food
262 she has brought for her husband. A large part of a family's larder is contributed by the wife. Big game is supplied by the men, who also bring in fish and large sea animals such as turtle, porpoise, dugong and shark.

[11] There is considerable evidence that there is a comparatively strong taboo on sexual relations between man and wife after the man has seen a totem the first time. It is said that the ceremonial leader for the totem would be so angry that he would attempt to spear the culprit.

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waku, gawel and waku, and one case has been reported of momelker and dumungur. This last is very rare and has a strong taboo against it. All relationships except the above are completely taboo, and no one would any more think of such an extra-legal union than a normal man in our society would consider a liaison with his own mother. All the above affairs would be with distant relatives and not the actual ones. 837

Much indignation usually is caused by a gawel-waku liaison if discovered, though several were observed. This sentiment would not be that of the injured wife or husband alone, but of the tribe generally. Men having such a relationship with waku or momelker would be called dogs and considered evil-doers even by their own people, who might be defending them at the time from the attacks of the girl's husbands and relatives. The woman would most certainly receive a severe beating and occasionally be killed. 837 684

The regulation that a younger brother is not allowed near an older brother's wife whereas an older brother may be near a younger brother's of course applies here, since, except through a wrong marriage, all men who call each other brothers would call the same women galle, and they in turn would call these men duć. Even with such limitations the duć-galle affair is a most common form of adultery because, with the exception of this one taboo, there is no restriction to deter the pair or to make the most orthodox Murngin feel he is doing anything wrong. The mono-kaminyer relationship is the next least provocative of social condemnation. Of course, this would not be actual father's mother and brother's son's son, but a younger woman and a man in this relationship. 837 [607]

The men's attitude toward sexual union is one of extreme interest. While some speak but little of it, others make sex, food, and war the three subjects of their conversation. The women, however, seem even more interested than the men. They, too, vary considerably in their attitude; some are continually in trouble because of attempting to satisfy their desires by seducing young men, while others remain quiet and faithful to one man. All the men testified that there were no cold women; or rather, as they put it, all women were interested in the sexual relation. The evidence seems to verify their contentions; but caution must be exercised here since no man would admit that women were not interested in him. However, many of the men complained that their wives and other female relatives had too great an interest. 831 [838]

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make quite a point of carrying their personal baskets under their arms in the manner of mature men.

When large animals such as kangaroos, sea turtles, or emus are harpooned or speared and are being prepared for the stone fires by the older men, the little boys stand about and watch, edging as close as they can and being constantly warned to get back. Meanwhile they quarrel among themselves over the tidbits given them, e.g., the shells of the turtles from which they pick bits of meat.

A boy remains with his family of orientation until he is six or eight years of age, when he is circumcised, leaves his family, and goes to live with the boys of his own age and those who are older in a male group presided over by an older man (or men) who does not possess a wife. This does not mean that he is not in constant contact with the members of his own family. It is felt to be wrong, however, for the young man to live in his parents' camp after he reaches this age because he will be aware of their sexual relations and will learn ways of behavior not proper for a boy who has not taken a wife. Sexual relations between married people are carried on in the bush in the daytime and in camp at night. In camp they lie in such a position that they will not be noticed by their camp mates. "It is all right for children to watch, for they don't know what's happening, but when a boy gets older he sees, and then he says, 'That's good for me, too.' He goes and gets a young girl, maybe a galle to him, and they go into the bush." "When he stays in the big camp he sees too many women. If sometimes you see a small boy from the men's camp sit down in the camp with the women, he hasn't learned which way to behave proper."

The sister taboos are put into force at this same period and are active deterrents in keeping the boy away from his own camp, since the young girls remain with their parents until they are taken by their spouses.

The youths are supposed to eat in their (boys', unmarried men's) camp and sleep there, not going around with women. The boys' camp is the place for them to learn the proper etiquette in their conduct with men and women. A boy is not supposed to look "hard" at a woman. Whenever a man stares at a woman he is thought to have designs upon her. "If a boy looks hard at that girl she says to herself, 'What does he look at me for that way? I think he wants to play with me.' She goes and talks then and makes trouble."

When the younger circumcised boys are put in the unmarried men's

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The man who is the wife's partner later privately again gives her presents of spears or tobacco, red ocher, and the ordinary presents that are reciprocally exchanged. She accepts the present, keeps part of it, and gives the rest to her husband. The natives, both men and women, are much more interested in the ritual of giving and taking than in the value of the presents, which is never very great. There is usually considerable joking and amusement during this dance. Although intercourse is not to be consummated between the ceremonial partners until the last night of the ceremony, and then only for ceremonial purposes, there are a considerable number of clandestine meetings between these mates before that time. This is recognized by all, even though it is not considered regular or entirely proper.

After a man has had sexual intercourse with another man's wife, the latter male comes to him and puts his sweat on the legs and arms of his wife's partner so that the one who has been with his wife won't be "sick" from it. The position taken in the sexual act differs from the customary one (see page 78) in that the woman sits on the ground on the back of her buttocks. The trunk of the body leans back and at an angle from the legs, with the hands on the ground in back of the body to support it. The man puts his legs under hers and his hands around her so that the pudenda meet in closer contact than if he lay on her.

3. For the final occasion the men and women partners are heavily painted. On this night one woman may have sexual relations with several men because there is always a lack of women in the group attending the ceremony. If a woman shows a dislike for her ceremonial partner and refuses to join him, she is told she will be ill and make her husband and ceremonial mate ill, and she is forced to comply with her husband's demand. If a man refuses, the woman sends word that Muit will make him ill, and that she too will be sick.

Native Interpretation.—The ceremonial exchange of wives and participation in ritual intercourse is thought to be absolutely obligatory on the men and women. When a man or woman objects, the older men insist, as does the partner, that the person must do this or "Muit will make him ill" and the partner will become ill too. In speaking of the ceremonial sexual exchange I was told many times, "This makes everybody clean. It makes everyone's body good until next dry season."

The oldest leader of the Gunabibi in the area, in many ways the man best-informed on this ceremony, said to me, "Those two women [the Wawilak sisters], they walked down from the Wawilak country

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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773 114 Some confusion exists as to how the afterbirth blood fell into the sacred well of Muruwul. It is said by some that the older Sister went down to the well to obtain water for drinking, and the blood dropped in while she was bending over. Others declare that the rain washed the blood into the well. The Julunggul, however, first smelt the proximity of the Two Sisters, and then the blood of the older. They had, according to the most reliable version, been camped at a swamp surrounded with "cabbage" or "wild coconut" palms, not far from Muruwul. It was here that much blood fell; when the rain began, the blood was carried down to the sacred well. A number of songs deal with this aspect.

Julunggul, so aborigines say, resembles an immense coloured caterpillar, *dupal*, with similar features and body, but without its numerous [534] legs; the bullroarer is like this, particularly when it has been decorated with feather down fastened on with blood, and attached to a long cord of human hair twine.

* * * *

Since there are deviations in other Wauwalak versions, it is advisable to append the following two stories on the same subject; but the main theme is the same, and only the differences will be described in detail.

773 The two Wauwalak painted each other with boomerang designs[6] before the birth of the elder sister's child.[7] When it was born, with the help of other unnamed women, the two started off for Muruwul. On arrival there the older sister partially built a bark hut called *murlk* (a sacred name, for this is the term for the hut placed on the ceremonial ground in the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak* rituals). Her afterbirth blood was still intermittently flowing. The younger sister had, in the meantime, hidden herself in the surrounding grass. When the *murlk* was finished she came out, and began to dance along the track leading to the hut and to the well: she skipped along, shaking branches as she danced, just as the women dance to-day in the secular *djunggawon* and *kunapipi*. Coming near the mouth of the hut, she shook the branches, threw them aside, and entered; she sat down in there with her sister, and her sister's daughter. At the same time, she felt her menstruation blood running inside her from her breasts to her navel, down into the uterus, and flowing out. This had been caused by her energetic dancing, the movement of her hips, buttocks and legs. She had danced, too, the dance of the "spring water", the running streams of rain-water during the wet season,

[778] [839] 6. This design refers to the special boomerang used for ritual defloration (sometimes associated with ceremonial intercourse) on the Kunapipi ground; the Rose River Love Song Cycle treats this subject. *Vide*, also, Chapters IV and V.

7. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 314-317.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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The leader then erects two emblems, which she and her companion have made secretly out in the bush. One is a post, consisting of paperbark bound together with twine, and resembling a smaller undecorated edition of the men's *jelmalandji*: this is the Kitjin or Julunggul Snake. The other emblem is a pole, sometimes red-ochred and decorated, which represents a stringy-bark tree. Both objects are stood upright in the ground, some distance from the men, who are said to be "like young boys being shown their first sacred ceremony".

Then, lifting up the Kitjin (or sometimes using another paperbark-bound object), the head woman hits the stringy-bark tree emblem, so that pieces of paperbark fly across the ground. This symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul while the Wauwalak were in their hut: the lightning "split" (that is, struck) a stringy-bark tree, and pieces of wood flew in every direction. It was from one of these pieces that the sacred bullroarer was made (*vide* Chapter III).

This procedure may vary in different areas, depending on the length of the Kunapipi. The women may perform their ritual further away from the men, but still near the sacred ground; and men may be forbidden to see their dancing, or the emblems they erect. After their own ceremony, they may then come on to the sacred ground and dance before the men. In some cases, too, this section is omitted.

Finishing their Kitjin dancing, they return to the *ngamamali*, and form a dancing line before the men, who now look up and begin to sing. While the women dance, various men stand up and walk over to their Kunapipi partners, and hand them presents of food, string or ochre; a woman will keep some of this herself, but may pass some on to her husband. It is at this time too that much joking takes place, and the bolder of the women (those who have gone through the Kunapipi before) make obscene gestures, holding open their labia majora, slapping their thighs, or taking up a piece of stick and holding it erect like a man's penis and moving it up and down as in coitus. When the dancing is over, the men and women return to the camp, while some copulate[14] on their way back; although they should not have coitus until the last night, it is generally recognized that this does occur after such erotic dancing.

14. At Yirrkalla no special position is preferred during the act: this depends principally on the couple concerned. However, the usual positions taken, in the Kunapipi rite, are as follows: A woman lies full length on the ground with her legs apart; her partner lies between them and directly upon her, holding her around the neck, while she clasps her hands at his back. Or the woman may sit on the ground, well back on her buttocks, the trunk of her body leaning back supported on her arms. Her legs are flexed and open; the man puts his legs under her and his hands around her, so that his penis enters further and their genitalia are closer together than if he lay upon her.

Vide Chapter V, where the special position taken in coitus on the sacred ground is mentioned and reproduced in a native drawing.

In some regions, as along the Roper River, there is the belief that a man's body may not touch the woman's during coitus. During the act he suspends

796 On the final night, the Kitjin and the *ngamamali* dancing are repeated. The Kunapipi partners are ochred and heavily greased.
786 The men sing and the women dance. As the singing and dancing con-
835 tinue, a man will rise and go over to his partner, take her by the arm, and lead her into the bush for sexual intercourse. One by one the men stand and take their partners into the surrounding shadows; and since there are usually fewer women than men, some women may have coitus a number of times. Men too may, if they choose, have coitus more than once during the night, either with the same partner, or with another woman whose husband has already been
[431] approached, and presents exchanged. Women, at this time, stimulated by days of anticipation, take a special pride in the number of men who copulate with them. After a man has had sexual inter-
[783] course with a woman, her husband comes to him and rubs his sweat on the man's legs and arms, so that he will not become ill from this ritual behaviour.

There are several variations in the above pattern of ceremonial
796 copulation, and we mention the two most important. While the
786 dancing is in progress, the Kunapipi sexual partners may retire to a
345 specially constructed shade or hut (which is the *murlk* of the Wau-
837 walak) and have coitus. The woman either remains in the hut to receive other men, or returns to the dancing. Should there be more men than women at the ceremony, the woman will most likely remain in the hut for the evening, accepting one man after another. In this case, there may be several "huts" or windbreaks near the sacred ground, each woman taking possession of one. (Not all the female dancers retire to these huts; as mentioned, there are some who do not have partners.) This conforms more to the pattern of ceremonial copulation in the Roper River Kunapipi.

The second variation is in the manner of ceremonial copulation
796 (the *ka'rangara*) throughout central-western Northern Territory.
786 After the dancing, the women form two rows, according to their
837 moieties, on the sacred ground; they are slightly apart from, though alongside each other. All lie down and assume a position ready for coitus. Their male partners dance forward and take positions before one line of women, while on the opposite side another row of men dances into the ground and stands in front of the other line. The men have their backs to one another, and their two rows are between the two rows of women; this arrangement prevents husbands from watching their wives. Then the men begin to have intercourse, some awaiting their turn. When a man has finished he goes to one side

[833] himself above the woman, or inserts paper-bark between their bodies. It is said that the sweat of the woman is possessed of great potency which, if transferred to the man, will cause him harm (that is, affect the specific sacredness of the act). However, this is not found in the north-eastern Arnhem Land area.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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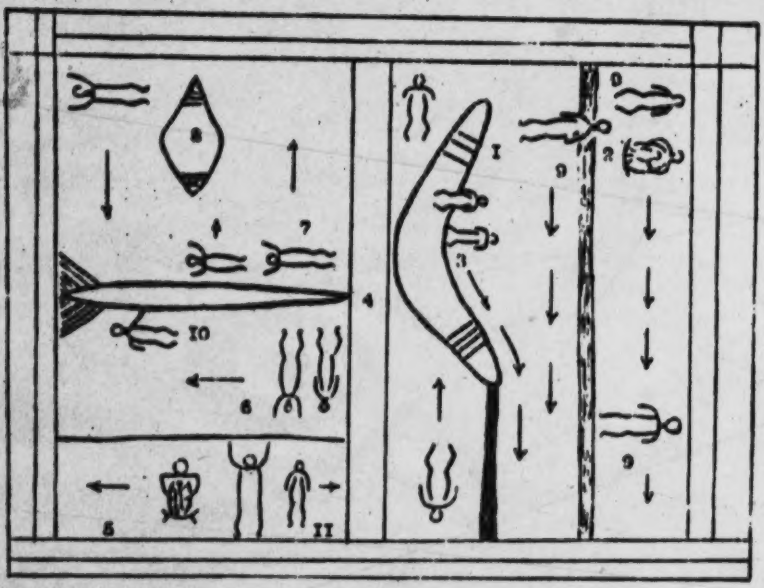
ground, is principally concerned with ceremonial intercourse, an integral part of the Kunapipi, taking place on the sacred ground. 532 796 881



Text Figure 5.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XVII.
Ceremonial intercourse on the sacred ground.

On the right hand side of this drawing is the *jilparindji* or *kalawal* boomerang (1); it occupies the place of the *kanala* in the drawing and is drawn in much the same way. (This particular aspect requires further attention, but cannot be elaborated here.) It is this boomerang (usually designed a little differently, with a groove at the centre) which is used in ritual defloration on the Kunapipi ground, before ceremonial coitus. That is to say, young girls have their hymens pierced prior to intercourse on the ceremonial ground; others, whose hymens have already been broken through normal premarital coitus, have the end of the boomerang placed symbolically in the vagina. In the Rose River region, this form of defloration is a counterpart of the subincision rite, and neither takes place in the north-eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the long *jiritja* Rose River Love Song cycle, known at Yirrkalla, defloration and ritual copula-

532 796 881 833 [304] [836] [171]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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tion are discussed in detail: this aspect will, however, be dealt with later.[7]

Here we are concerned principally with sexual intercourse on the sacred ground, and defloration is incidental; but it does have an important bearing on Kunapipi mythology. (*Vide* Chapter X, Song 45, when it is mentioned that the Mungamunga were "opened" for coitus; the ritual in the Rose River Kunapipi commemorates this mythological event, while other examples could be taken from Yirrkalla mythology to substantiate this rite of defloration.)

On the far right hand side of the drawing are male *gurung* having coitus with their normally tabu-ed female *mukul* (*vide* Chapter IV), as Kunapipi sexual partners (2), while other men (9) await their turn. It is these men who first "open up" the young girls with the boomerang, and then copulate with them. This rite is termed the *nukanmiri*. The drawing of the man and woman performing the sexual act is executed in the stylized traditional manner, so that the two figures merge (2): the man bends forward, grasping his partner at the back so that his arms pass under hers, while the woman clasps him with hands gripped at his back. She is lying on the ground with legs apart, her thighs resting on his hips, and her feet are crossed at his back; *vide* Chapter IV. footnote 14.

Ranged along and around the boomerang (1) are the brothers (3) of the girls and women with whom the men are copulating; they stand with their backs turned. They do not look at their sisters having coitus, in case they should be "shamed" (a manifestation of the deep-rooted local tabu between brother and sister). Instead, they sing while this is taking place, and do not themselves have ceremonial intercourse; their turn comes when the next Kunapipi is performed.

A focal point on the left hand side of the drawing is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (4), held by one man (10), while below it is a row of men (6) who are actual or classificatory husbands to the women having coitus on the opposite section (that is, 2). These husbands (like those at 9) await their turn with women (5) who are the "wives" (actual or otherwise) of the men on the opposite side (9); these women are already having coitus (5), and beside them (11) other men are waiting. Around the *nanggaru* (8) are men (7) dancing the opossum dance: they are the fathers (actual or classificatory) of both groups of women (at 5 and 2).

The fifth drawing,[8] Plate XIII and text figure 6, in black, red, green, blue, yellow and pencil, shows the sacred ground, with its essential emblems and plan: women are awaiting ceremonial intercourse,

7. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In Chapter IV it was mentioned that only married women attended the Kunapipi ritual of ceremonial copulation; this was a Yirrkalla variant.
8. Reference: No. 3, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

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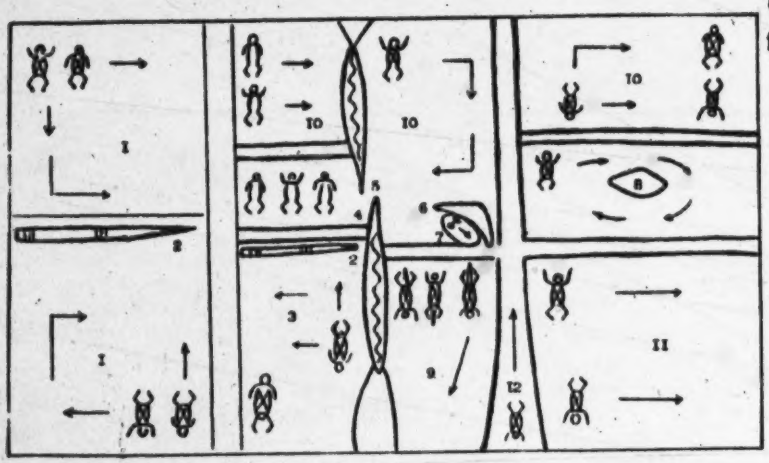
while there is no mention of defloration (which, as we have said, is not a feature of every Kunapipi).



Text Figure 6.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIII.

Men dancing on the sacred ground, with women awaiting ceremonial intercourse.

On the left hand side of the drawing, ranged on either side, are men dancing (1); in the middle is the stick (2) used for pushing back the *jelmalandji* when they fall. They belong to both the *jiritja* and the *dua* moieties, and have blood smeared over their bodies; this symbolises the afterbirth and menstruation blood of the Wauwalak sisters.

In the central panel, to one side of the *darlpa jelmalandji* (4), are *dua* women (3), decorated like the men with fibre string crossed over their chest and body. They are awaiting ceremonial coitus and represent female opossums; they wear *diridiri* pubic aprons. On the opposite side are their Kunapipi sexual partners (9), representing male opossums, wearing long penes of paperbark.

Above is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (5), surrounded by dancing men (10) smeared with blood. In the corner is the *kanala* (6), with *muru* and *wari* novices (7) lying covered with sheets of paper-bark on the concave side. The sacred dancing and the *jelmalandji* have not yet been revealed to them.

On the right hand side is the *nanggaru* (8) with the same men (10) dancing around it, while below are others, also dancing (11). Along the track (12) leading to the *kanala* (6) are opossum men, dancing to surround the novices (7).

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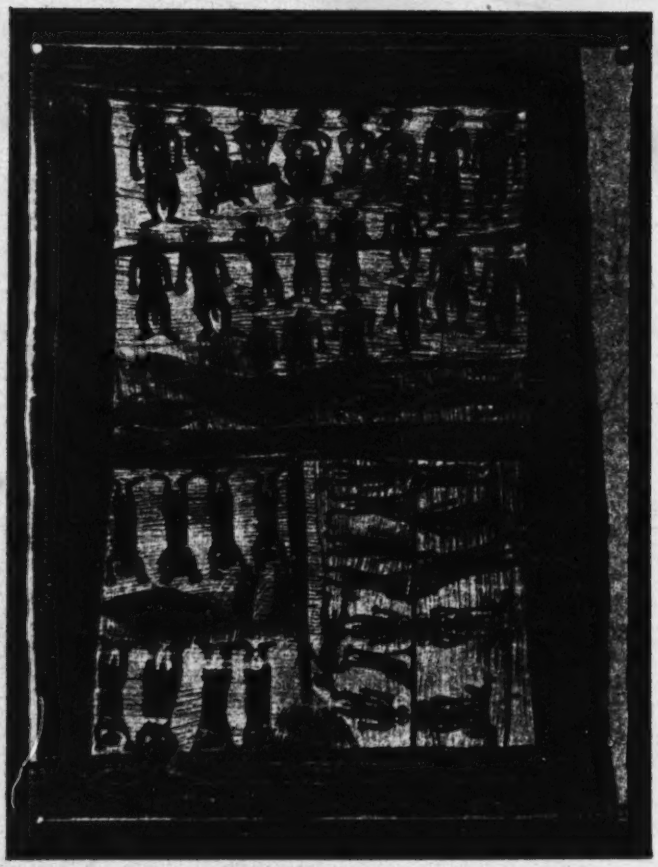

PLATE XVII

[p. 84(H)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 67-68.—Analyst]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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right down. The girl's legs are tied to the posts, so that her legs are outstretched between them. (We know of no other reference to the actual tying down of the Kunapipi girl who has been chosen for ceremonial coitus. As a young girl is specified, this probably refers to ritual defloration which has been mentioned briefly elsewhere—*vide* Chapters IV, V and X. It suggests also that force is used to hold the girl, a feature which should not normally accompany this rite; moreover, promiscuity is such a feature of this area, with the breaking down of indigenous regulations governing sexual conduct, that one would not expect it to be necessary.)

The men then paint themselves, and line up for dancing. There may be two or three hundred men on the sacred ground. The headman begins to beat his clapping sticks, while the dancing men clap their hands rhythmically to the music and song, and call out intermittently. Then the first man, at the head of the long line of dancing men, leaves the line and goes into the shade and copulates with the Kunapipi girl; the other men continue clapping their hands and calling out.

Under the girl, immediately beneath her vulva, a small depression has been dug and in it has been placed a shallow paperbark dish; this catches the semen and vaginal juices that come out of the girl.

When the first man has left the hut, another takes his place; this is continued until all the men in the line have entered the hut and copulated, and their semen has flowed from the girl into the paperbark container.

By this time, the container is full; and after a rest, the men remove it from the hut and begin to paint themselves with the semen; then they continue their dancing, which goes on from early morning until sunset. Ceremonial coitus takes place each day for several weeks, different girls being chosen for each ceremony." Other rituals relating to the Kunapipi are also performed in a sequence similar to that already discussed.

It should be mentioned that the reason given for thus decorating the postulants' bodies with designs in semen and vaginal juices is the belief in the fructifying potency of the former. The act of ceremonial coitus is itself symbolic of fertilization, and the subsequent increase of human and the natural species; semen is the essence which causes pregnancy; and this natural and logical belief is an integral part of the rituals of the Kunapipi fertility cult.

There is also an association between semen and the saliva of the Julunggul Snake (*vide* Chapter III, *et seq.*); it was with this substance that Julunggul smeared the Wauwalak and the child prior to swallowing. This "saliva" is represented by white pipe-clay in parts of the Kunapipi, and it is with this that Kunapipi neophytes are painted.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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severed parts became *rangga* or feathered strings, which are also regarded as *rangga*. An interesting interpretation was made by one informant, himself a ceremonial leader. Within historic times, he said, a certain man was born with both vagina and penis, and with breasts like a woman; he was bi-sexual and produced a child, after which he died. Commenting on this example, which was told to him by a grandparent, the informant suggested that these Djanggawul Sisters may have originally been bi-sexual, so that their clitorises were actually penes which they used to impregnate themselves by inserting into the vagina; for the 'clitoris-penes' were sufficiently long to curve round and use for coitus. The same informant stated that the Djanggawul Brother may possibly have been introduced later. This is, however, the tentative interpretation of one man, and does not represent group opinion.

The presence of elongated clitorises can possibly be explained in terms of the tendency to accentuate a female organ (as has been done in the case of the male); or they may, symbolically, represent the umbilical cord (as in the Song Cycle). The former explanation seems to be more probable, for much stress is placed on the erectness of a woman's clitoris during coitus,[1] while the clitorises of many Aboriginal women are fairly well developed; they are played with and handled by women from pre-adolescent days, in an endeavour to increase their size, so attracting the attentions of men and heightening their sexual satisfaction. In other drawings from the Yirrkalla area, the Djanggawul Sisters have long clitorises, dragging on the ground. In one illustration we see the Two Sisters with elongated clitorises, and the Brother with his long penis; they are holding *rangga*, and people are coming out to be placed on a *ngainmara* mat. The same drawing shows the Wauwalak Sisters,[2] who are the daughters of the Djanggawul, while the Brother puts his hand into the Sisters' wombs to remove the people. The Brother's inserting his hand into the uteri, to remove the people (children), is compared with his putting his hand into the *ngainmara* to remove the sacred *rangga*. Further, it suggests that the Sisters did not invariably give birth to such people in the normal way. The Brother's action in inserting his hand merely accentuates the theme by introducing a further point, which can be more easily represented in symbolism—that is, by the *rangga* and *ngainmara*, illustrating the phenomenon of childbirth.

Professor Lloyd Warner was the first to note the presence of the Djanggawul (which he called Djunkgao) cult, presenting this

[1] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, for publication.

[2] The Wauwalak Sisters sponsor all *Kunapipi*, *ngurlmag* and *djunggawon* ritual. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters I *c*, III and IV.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to

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FAMILY LIFE IN THE JUNGLE

Theories of conception and birth have been severely jolted in recent years, for until recently it was not known that intercourse had any connection with conception, and Yulengor regarded it as being merely a natural and satisfying function. There are no virgins in aboriginal society, for at an early age a girl is handed over to her husband and is married for the rest of her life. In parts of western Arnhem Land, when hordes gather for ceremonies, their hosts provide them with food and also advance their wives for the visitors' well-being. The question of illegitimate children does not arise, for births are thought to be the work of a spirit.

At some time when the potential father is hunting, the spirit of his prospective child comes to him and presents him with a large fish or turtle and enables him to spear it. Not yet comprehending the omen, the man returns to camp with the spirit at heel, and when all are asleep this spirit enters the mother and begins its preparations for birth. In a variation of this belief, the spirit follows the mother when she goes for water, and jumps into the water so as to enter the woman. When a man knows that his wife is to become a mother he endeavours to recall some unusual experience that has befallen him in hunting. His mind dwells on any large fish he has caught, perhaps in the last month, or maybe several years previously, and he regards this incident as marking the coming of the spirit-child.

Half-caste children compelled a readjustment of these ideas. First it was assumed that eating the white man's food or the wearing of white clothing caused white-skinned offspring. An anthropologist, visiting an Arnhem Land mission station at the invitation of a missionary of irreproachable character, asked an aboriginal why his normal full-blood son had a light skin. The father's startling reply was: 'The child's mother works in the missionary's house.'

According to a revised and popular birth theory, intercourse is necessary only as an act of preparation. In itself

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842 it is an invitation to the new spirit to come to the mother
●[833] from the spirit world. Ideas on the birth question are very vague and the time factor is ignored. Wogburra, who had been taught to read and write and had lived amongst white folk for twenty years, told me that his wife was about to give birth to a child, and gossip named Miniji as the father. He intended to spear Miniji. I asked when his wife had last seen Miniji, and he was certain that it had been two years previously, when Miniji left for his tribal country.

849 142 Babies are smoky pink in colour at birth, and mothers smear them with a mixture of ashes and water to hasten the darkening of the skin. From birth the child lies in the sun,

854 and as soon as it can clutch a chunk of red meat it is allowed
[853] to suck it. A mother carries her infant under her arm on a thick roll of soft bark, but the child soon learns to sit on her shoulder; it clutches her hair for support and sleeps through

142 a great part of the day. Most babies are curly headed, fat, strong, and contented, but as soon as they start eating bush food they develop distended stomachs and become thin and prone to disease.

855 In the better type of family the utmost affection is shown
[595] by all wives toward the children of the husband's other wives, and it is sometimes difficult to say which is the mother.
[853] She does not always suckle it herself, nor does the infant object to a variation. If a mother dies, the care of her children is assured, and I have seen only two children that could be called waifs or strays.

Children are pampered unbelievably and are rarely
[861] punished. The most a mother will do when her patience is exhausted is to shake it by the shoulder, shout at it and threaten it with a ghost or a white man. Imitating their

857 elders, the youngsters learn their lessons and make fun for themselves in the hard days of childhood, though their games seem to foreshadow the strenuous adult life ahead of them. Girls play at gathering food, making huts and weaving dilly-bags,